NEW YORK CITY.

Pursuant to a call, signed by between two and three thousand of the most respectable and substantial citizens of New York, inviting a meeting of their fellow-citizens, irrespective of PARTY DIS-TINCTION, in favor of sustaining THE UNION, by the permanent settlement of the great ques- litical safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation tions now agitating the Nation upon the basis of the Compromise Resolutions introduced into the Senate of the United States by the Hon, HENRY CLAY, there assembled at Castle Garden on Monday night last the largest public meeting ever witnessed in New York, of which our correspondent furnishes the following comprehensive account: NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 26, 1850.

The Empire City spoke last evening, in a tone that ought to be heard, and that will be felt, throughout the length and breadth of these United States. The voice uttered was, the Union of the States, at all hazards, one and inseparable, now and forever! I have witnessed a great many political and years, but not one of them, considering the multitude of numbers, the weight and respectability of character, the unanimity of sentiment, and the determined energy of decision, equalled the one at Castle Garden last evening. I need not be particular with the details, as you will get the reports in our morning papers. The meeting was called, without distinction of party, by our leading merchants and business men, to consult upon measures for the preservation of the Union, on some reasonable and patriotic basis, like Mr. CLAY's Compromise Resolutions offered in the Senate.

The meeting was probably ten thousand strong, and more would have crowded in, if they could have got within hearing distance. The Mayor of the city was called to preside, and many of our first merchants and other eminent citizens acted as Vice Presidents. The meeting was not remarkable for its "much speaking," but the sentiments uttered by the speakers, and the unanimity and energy of the response from thousands of voices, showed conclusively that, on the great question of the Union, New York is just, liberal, patriotic, and sound to the very core. She is ready to say to the South, and does say to the South, we will stand by the letter and spirit of the Constitution adopted by the compromises of our Fathers-a Constitution which has made us a great, a prosperous, and a happy people. She says to the South, we are opposed to slavery from principle; we are from principle opposed to dation of all our hope of continued liberty, prosperity, and happiness; in short, it is the principle of self-preservation, and that is above all other law. briefly refer. She says to the South, we know that slavery is recognised by the Constitution, and that you have will not infringe or violate those rights; we will not disturb your local laws or institutions; we will your constitutional rights within our own borders ; Crawford, John C. Calhoun, and William Wirt. we will at all times do you full and ample justice; The second occasion was the insertion of the Missouri comphysical power to preserve it. In the last resort, we will pour out our treasure and our blood to be formed out of Texas north of 36° 30'. preserve it, as our fathers did to win it.

These leading sentiments, uttered by the speakunanimity and an energy that showed that the importance of the Union is deeply fixed in the minds of the people; that its dissolution is not to be suffered at any price; that it is a thing, like life itself. not to be valued or estimated, but to be preserved. General Scott, who was discovered to be pre-

sent in the early part of the evening, was cheered with great enthusiasm, and repeatedly called upon to address the meeting; and finally, before the close of the meeting, he made a brief, pertinent, and patriotic address. He came to listen, he said, and did not expect to speak. He was not an abolitionist, nor an advocate for the extension of slaverv. He came not there as a Whig, nor as a Democrat; he had not attended a party meeting for forty years. But, hearing a cry that the Union was in danger, and a meeting called to devise measures to preserve it, he felt bound to be present : for he felt most sensibly that he was a citizen of the Unionnot a citizen of the North, or the South, or the East, or the West. He had served the Union for forty years, and felt that he was a citizen of every portion of it. What life and strength there was remaining to him should be devoted to the support and preservation of this glorious Union, under the Constitution which our fathers bequeathed us.

The following are the resolutions, which were ananimously adopted by a vote of the meeting: Resolved, That the people of New York, without distinct tion of sect or party, are ardently devoted to the Union of

these States, as, next to our liberties, the most precious of their political institutions; and, having never yet begun to calculate the value of this UNION, can contemplate no contingency in which its dissolution would be otherwise than a gigantic crime against the peace, prosperity, and freedom of our country and of mankind.

Resolved, That in the Resolutions lately submitted to the Senate of the United States by Mr. CLAY, looking to a complete and final settlement of all questions relating to slavery, on which the feelings of the Northern and Southern sections of our country have been excited against each other, we joyfully recognise the basis of an harmonious and brotherly adjustment of a most distracting and perilous controversy; and entreat our fellow-citizens of all parties and sections to study those Resolutions carefully, and in a spirit of devotion to the union and perpetuity of this noble Confederacy.

Resolved. That, in view of the above considerations, w accept as the basis of a compromise the preamble and resolutions as introduced by Mr. CLAY into the Senste of the United States on the 19th of January, 1850.

BALTIMORE CITY.

A preliminary meeting was held in the city of BALTIMORE on Monday night, composed of citizens of all parties, at which it was resolved to call a General Town Meeting on Monday next, to give expression to the public sentiment of that community in favor of the existence and perpetuity of the National Union.

A VOICE FROM VIRGINIA!

At a large meeting of the citizens of Loupoux County, (Virginia,) composed of both political parties, held in the Court-house at Leesburg on Friday, the 22d of February, 1850, in pursuance of a call made by a previous meeting, the following Preamble and Resolutions, presented to the meeting by
the public mind of the North and in the public councils than JOHN JANNEY, Esq., were, after discussion by Messrs. Janney, C. W. Blincoe, C. B. Tebbs, B. jr., and Wm. TENISON, adopted with but one dissenting voice:

We, the People of Loudoun county, in public meeting asfound gratitude for his exalted services, than by re-adopting of Virginia.

the sentiments and the language of his immortal Farewell Address to his countrymen, and applying them to the circumtances by which are now surrounded.

We therefore declare that "the unity of Government which constitutes us one people is justly dear to us, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of our real independence; the support of our tranquillity at home, our peace abroad; of our safety; of our prosperity; and of that very liberty which we so highly prize. That our National Union is of immense value to our collective and individual happiness; that we should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustomin ourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of our powith jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt o alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. We have, in a ommon cause, fought and triumphed together : the indepenlence and liberty we possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to our sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those public meetings in New York in the last twelve which apply more immediately to our interests. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole. All the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, proportionably greater security from external danger, and, what is of inestin value, we must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same Government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, we will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that our Union ought to be considered as the main prop of our liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to us the preservation of the other."

These sentiments of the Father of his Country are entitled to the respect of the peop'e of every part of the republic, East and West. North and South. He lived FOR THE UNION, he died and was buried IN THE UNION, and in this Congressional district. Let not the future historian record the melancholy fact that his honored remains repose in a disjointed member of a once powerful and united empire of freemen.

With these feelings we proceed to the business for which we are assembled. The question of Slavery has acitated the councils of the country at various periods from the foundation of our Government. In the formation of the Constitution its influence was powerfully felt; but conflicting opinions were then reconciled by the spirit of enlarged patriotism and combound to preserve this Union by a still higher and promise which animated the members of the Convention stronger principle than these; for it lies at the founfar as the Congress of the United States is concerned, in which there has been legislative action, and to these we will

The first was the celebrated Missouri question, which was finally adjusted by Congress, with the assent of the on that subject certain constitutional rights. We assent of the most distinguished statesmen of the South as well as the North; and their act was sanctioned by James Monroe, a Southern President; and of his Cabinet, composed not throw barriers in the way of your obtaining all of five members, three were Southern men, to wit. Wm. H.

and even, if it is necessary in order to prevent dis- promise line in the joint resolutions for the annexation of cord, violence, and attempts to dissolve the Union. Texas. But these resolutions gave to the Executive the alwe are ready to compromise by a sacrifice of a ternative of proceeding upon the authority which they conportion of the principles which we hold dear, and ferred, or by treaty, as he might think best : and, in the exwhich we think you have not a right to require. ercise of this discretion, the Executive, with John Tyler. But, while we say all this, we must add, that, un- Southern President, at its head, and with John C. Calhoun der no circumstances whatever, will we allow this as Secretary of State, decided promptly to act under the au-Union to be severed while we have the moral or thority of the joint resolutions, and not by treaty; and thus

The third was the insertion of what is commonly called the Wilmot provise into the Oregon Territorial bill. As the ers. were responded to by the vast audience with a whole of this territory was north of the line 36° 30', it was supposed to fall within the principle of the Missouri compromise, and the act of Congress, voted for by Southern and Northern men, was sanctioned by James K. Poik, also a Southern President of the United States.

> We pause at this period, and ask all dispassionate men any act has been passed by the National Legislature which will justify us, as Southern men, in resorting to the extreme measures which have been suggested in certain quarters as a remedy for our grievances? We know that, of the acts of the Legislatures of several of the Northern States and of many of their citizens, we have just cause of complaint, for we have been grievously wronged by them ; but, so far as any legislative action by Congress is concerned, we think the appeal must be answered in the negative.

> But a new difficulty is upon us. We have by the late war with Mexico acquired an immense territory, and the question is, how shall it be governed while it remains in its territorial

> The question is not now as to the policy or impolicy of that acquisition. It is now ours. It was acquired by our joint exertions and ought to be held for our common benefit. The disposition of the North, so far as indications of public sentiment have reached us, is to insist, in any territorial bill that may be formed, upon the exclusion of slavery, while the South, with entire unanimity, resist this legislative exclusion. The latter do not ask for any positive law establishing slavery, but they demand that Congress shall not legislate upon the subject, and that it shall be left to be decided by the Judicial tribunals whether, under the Constitution of the United States. or the local law of the Territory, or both combined, slavery may or may not exist there. In regard to the right of the people of the Territories, when forming State constitutions, exclude or to admit slavery, as to them shall seem best, we believe there is now no serious diversity of opinion; and our views on that subject will be found in the fifth resolution, which is copied verbatim from one submitted to the Senate of the United States by the honorable John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

The Legislature of every Southern State in the Union has, with almost entire unanimity, declared in the most solemn and explicit manner their unqualified opposition to the application of the Wilmot proviso to the territories acquired from Mexico. In March, 1847, our own Legislature acted on the subject. Again, in January, 1849, and for the third time at the present session. Upon the second and third of these occasions, the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was considered and embraced in the resolutions. Among other things they declared, in 1847 and 1849, "That if the fearful issue shall be forced upon the country which must result from the adoption and attempted enforcement of the Wilmot proviso, as an act of the General Government, the people of Virginia can have no difficulty in

choosing between the only alternatives that will then remain. The policy of the Southern people on this question has always been, and now is, a purely defensive one. We ask no legislation from Congress upon the subject of slavery in the new Territories; and it was in the spirit of this wise policy that the Legislature, on the occasions referred to, contented itself with declaring its opinions, and referred to the people themselves to decide, not before but after the passage by Con gress of the proviso, and ufler its attempted enforcement.

upon the mode and manner of redress. We adhere to this policy still. We see no reason for de parting from it until the contingency contemplated by the Legislature shall have happened. No such contingency has did at the passage of the resolutions. We desire to maintain our defensive position, and neither to advance nor recede; W. HARRISON, CHARLES SHREVE, BENJ. BRIDGES, and we should have remained silent but for a resolution adopted by the General Assembly bringing to the consideration of the people the propriety of a Southern Convention, to be he'd at Nashville in June next, and recommending to the people sembled, on the anniversary of the birth of the FATHER OF in their primary assemblies to appoint Delegates to District HIS COUNTRY, know of no mode in which we can more ap- Conventions, which Conventions shall have power to appoint propriately express our respect for his memory, and our pro- Delegates to the Nashville Convention to represent the State

The respect which ought to be entertained for that honorable body forbids us to treat their recommendation with silent ne-glect, and there was no other alternative left us but to meet,

consider, and decide upon it.

The responsibility for any apparent diversity of sentiment on the subject of the Nashville Convention rests not upon us. The resolution has not, and does not pretend to have, the force of a law, but submits the matter to us for our decision.

We are opposed to this Convention, because the mode and manner of its organization is unsanctioned and unregulated by law, and because we apprehend it cannot be a fair exponent of the will of the People. Because it is to be held whether Congress shall or shall not have passed any of the obnoxious measures referred to, and is in this respect a departure from the defensive policy heretofore avowed and acted upon. Bethe defensive policy heretofore avowed and acted upon. Because 'i, as some of its riends avow, its sole object is to unite Southern sentiment on the abstract questions, its work will be wholly superfluous; and if it is to recommend any particular mode of action in the event of the passage by Congress of the measures protested against, then it would be performing an act not only without authority, but which we should be bound to disobey; for our own Assembly at the present session has follow revived for that excitators the session has "Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate our affections. The name of American, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always avalt the inst wride of patriotism, more than any apauthority "to adopt such measures as the crisis may demand,' and this in our judgment is the only proper mode of organizing a State Convention if one shall become necessary.

1. Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, That we recogn in the Farewell Address of the "Father of his Country"

of the richest legacies he has bequeathed to us, and that we ought to cherish his advice with filial reverence.

2. Resolved, That we respectfully de line acting upon the recommendation of the General Assembly of Virginia in reference to the proposed Southern Convention at Nashville, and for this reason, among others, that none of the contin-gencies have occurred which in the opinion of the General

Assembly would render action necessary or proper.

3. Resolved, That any inference, which may be drawn from our non concurrence with the plan of a Nashville Convention, of indifference on our part to the issue of the great questions now pending, will be wholly unwarranted.

4. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to the adoption of the state of the st tion by Congress of the Wilmot proviso, or any kindred mea-sure, in framing Territorial Governments for the country acquir-ed from Mexico, and also the abolition of slavery in the District

of Columbia.
5. Resolved, "That it is a fundamental principle in ou political creed that a people, in forming a constitution, have which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty. which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty, for prosperity, and happiness, and in conformity thereto no other condition is imposed by the federal constitution on a State in order to be admitted into this Union, except that its constitution shall be republican, and that the imposition of any other by Congress would not only be in violation of the constitution, but in direct conflict with the principle on which

6. Resolved, That it is the imperative constitutional duty of Congress so to legislate as to afford to the owners of fugitive slaves who may escape into the States northwest of the Ohio, and north of Mason and Dixon's line, the most full and ample security for the rights guarantied to them by the third section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States.

7. Resolved, That the people of the United States have delegated to their public functionaries so much power as is necessary to enable them to administer the existing governments which the people have established, and no more, and they have reserved to themselves exclusively the power of de-ciding when and for what cause their institutions shall be

NOBLE S. BRADEN, Chairman. WM. FULTON, Secretary.

THE SOBER SECOND-THOUGHT.

We copy from the New Orleans " Crescent" he 18th instant, with unfeigned gratification at this sign of the times," the following annunciation:

"THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- The House Tof Representatives of the State of Louisiana has called on the GOVERNOR for any information in his possession to prove the necessity of appointing Delegates. The Governor answered that he had none; and the committee reported against the measure

The New Orleans "Bulletin" gives some addi ional information on the same subject, as follows:

"We are happy to learn that the Committee on Federal Relations has reported against sending of both political parties are opposed to the scheme. The subject is made the order of the day for Wednesday, when we trust wise counsels will prevail."

RARE CHANCE FOR CAPITALISTS .- Per-A RARE CHANCE FOR CAPITALISTS.—Perhaps a more rare chance for profitable and handsome investment has not occurred for a long time than the present. The subscriber offers at private sale his beautiful and fine estimates the subscriber offers at private sale his beautiful and fine estimates the subscriber offers at private sale his beautiful and fine estimates the subscriber of the subscri situated on the Potomac river, in Charles county, Mary-about twenty miles below Alexandria and thirty from land, about twenty miles below Alexandria and thirty from Washington, containing about 731 acres, with a variety of soil, from the fine flowery soil for making the No. 1 bright yellow tobacco, to the alluvial bottom and stiff clayey soil for wheat and meadow land, with a large proportion of the latter. The improvements consist of a large, commodious, and well-arranged dwelling house, with pantries, closets, and fine dry cellars, and built at a cost of nearly \$6,000, located on an arrange from which the reserved commands a view of nearly dry cellars, and built at a cost of nearly \$6,000, located on an eminence from which the prospect commands a view of nearly the whole farm, a view of the Potomac and adjacent country, which is picturesque and beautiful; also, of an overseer's house, four No. I houses for servants, stable, and carriage house, three fine barns, one among the best corn-houses in the country, a rat-proof meat-house, dairy, ice-house, fire-proof ash-house, with all the necessary poultry-houses, &c. The whole buildings are nearly new, built in the best style, and of the best materials.

and of the best materials.

The peach and apple orchards are extensive, and are of the best budded and gratted kinds, now in full bearing; together with a great variety of other choice fruits, such as grapes, with a great variety of other choice fruits, such as grapes, quinces, cherries, apricots, plums, pears, raspberries, strawberries, &c. The adjacent waters abound in the finest fish and wild fowl in their season. It is convenient to churches of different persuasions, to grist and saw mills, to post office and blacksmith shop, &c. The facilities of getting its products to market by vessels and steamboats are very great; 1,000 bushels of wheat can be shipped in a day. The place is acknowledged by all who know it to be a healthy one. The whole estate would make three desirable-sized farms, and would be sold altogether, or in three parts, as may be desirable; one of 295, one of about 236, and one of about 200 acres. The place is well watered, has a superabundance of wood, and an immense quantity of fine locust and ship timber. Lime in any quantity can be contracted for to be delivered within half my quantity can be contracted for to be delivered within hal mile of the dwelling at eight cents per bushel.

a mile of the dwelling at eight cents per bushel.

The adjoining farm, containing only 400 acres, and no better land than this, has been rented out for three years for one-third of the crop, which third amounted to more than \$1,000 per year or the two first years, and upwards of \$1,100 the third year. Persons wanting such an estate, or a part of it, would do well to visit it and judge for themselves, for to see it would be but to admire and appreciate its worth. Disinterested gentlemen, of high standing and good judgment, when speaking of this farm, have said that, taking all things into consideration, the character and quality of the improvements, its local advantages, &c., in their opinion it was certainly and decidedly the best farm in the county. CHARLES A. PYE, oct 6—wNItf Near Port Tobacco, Charles county, Md.

MAGNIFICENT LOTTERY.

ONE GRAND CAPITAL OF \$100,000-also, \$50,000-\$30,000-\$20,000. And 250 prizes of \$2,000. VIRGINIA STATE LOTTERY For the benefit of Monongalia Academy, Class D, for 1850. o be drawn at Alexandria, Va., on Saturday, April 27, 1850

under the superintendence of Commissioners.

J. W. MAURY & CO., Managers. 78 number lottery-13 drawn ballots.

	SPLENDID SCHEME.	
1 n	pagnificent capital of\$	100,000
	plendid prize of	50,000
1	do	30,000
1	do	20,000
1	do	15,000
1	do	11,556
20	do	3,000
250	do (lowest 3-number prizes)	2,000
65 p	rizes of	500
05	do	300
65	do	200
65	do	160
4,810	do	80
27,040	do	40
Tickets	\$40-Halves \$20-Quarters \$10-Eig	hths \$5.
	certificates of packages in the above	

me, as follows package of 26 whole tickets \$500 00 A certificate of 250 00 125 00

A certificate of a package of wholes will entitle the holder to all over \$442 nett that may be drawn by the twenty-six tickets named therein. Gertificates of halves, quarters, and eighths proportion.

This splendid scheme is one of the most attractive ever or the content states, and is well worthy of the attention of adventurers. The lowest prize that can be drawn by a ticket having on it three of the drawn numbers, is \$2,000. Orders for tickets and shares and certificates of packages in the above magnificent scheme will be promptly attended to, and an account of the drawing will be sent immediately after it is over to all who may order tickets from us.

Address J. & C. MAURY, Agents,

-COMMUNICATION:

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 22, 1850. Messrs, GALES & SEATON: I stated in my last number that the question, whether the citizens of the Slave States could carry their slaves as property to the Territories of the United States, in the absence of a prohibition by Congress, was only to be settled by the Constitution. They insist that, as the constitution recognises slaves as property-as the Territories are the common property of all the States, and as the constitution declares "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," therefore they have as much right to occupy them, with their property, as have the citizens of other States with theirs. They contend that the they are created property to any point within the erroneous feelings and prejudices.

The true ground of security is the does not change the nature of their relation to them. she will have settled it so far as her institutions are con- and prosperously, in her course. cerned. It the questions of forming Territorial Governments for New Mexico and California shall be deferred, those Ter- CLAX has lived until now. I think it also fortunate for the cy in the formation of the constitution. The Convention ritories will certainly be subject to settlement by all the citizens of the United States. When those citizens shall get there, if the question of what is and what is not property shall arise between them, they alone have the power to settle it citements, he came into the Presidency under peculiar and who had emigrated from the United States after naturalization when they shall come into the Union. Until then they are embarrassing circumstances. Assailed by each of the two here, and the remainder native Californians. The President entitled to no representation in the Federal Government, and extremes of party, both in the North and South, his firmness of the Convention was a native of a slave State. The comconsequently cannot add political power to the North or has been subjected to one of the severest of tests. But he mittee which reported the constitution was composed of six South. It is only because that representation may ultimately has manfully pursued his course of duty, looking neither to from the slave, seven from the free States, and six natives. strengthen one section of the Union, that the other section the right nor the left. He has stood like a faithful sentinel with a chairman from the slave States. Both of the Senators justifies itself for interfering, in any way, with it. No ques- upon the watch-tower, guarding the rights of both the North elect are from the South; both of them, I think, are or have tion, then, can legitimately arise between the Federal Gov- and the South, and determined to stand by the Union at all been slaveholders, and have strong sympathies with Southernment and the people of a Territory in regard to the right of property. If the present state of things is permitted to remain, and a citizen of a Southern State shall emigrate to New use the language of Mr. CLAY, "abandoned by Congress," Southern interests and Southern feelings have been fully re-Mexico, and take with him his slaves, he of course subjects and the people of the United States flocking there in immense presented there, and the South has no cause of complaint if both himself and his slaves to the laws existing there, what- numbers and from every part of the country. He knew that the sovereign authorities of California have thought proper to ever they may be, subject to the Constitution of the United the people of both the North and the South were willing and exclude slavery. It is their own act, and the Government of States. Between his slave and himself a question may arise anxious to welcome them into the Union, and he sent a gen- the United States has no power to reverse it. as to whether or no the slave has become free. That, the law tleman of high character there to tell them so. To whose The adoption, by the Convention, of the clause of the conand constitution settle. But who administers the law Those, opinions and wishes, in doing this, did he most conform- stitution prohibiting slavery, was the work of deliberation. of course, who are selected by the people of New Mexico those of the North or South In my first number I stated This is its history. It was moved by Mr. W. E. SHANNON, for that purpose. To this the owner of the slave cannot ob- the fact, that, at the last session of Congress; the South was who is a native of Ireland, and who emigrated to California from ject, for he goes there of his own accord.

to the law. If the law already existing excludes slavery, They are prepared to stand by him. They know that he re- of the past political creed of the South. why does the North desire to pass another law? If the law presents, in this great crisis, those conservative principles The only question which can possibly arise upon the promore true than did Mr. CLAY, when he said that "passion, passion-party, party-and intemperance," was all that was to be dreaded in the adjustment of these questions. Remove the present high degree of excitement from the minds of men, and let their judgment have due influence upon their opinions and conduct, and but little time would be required to settle all these territorial questions, fully, fairly, and satisfactorily. But as it is, they are all more or less embarrased by the manner of their discussion, both in Congress and in the country. They are not only talked about, but decided by many honest and good-meaning men in the North, under the influence of that hostility to slavery in the abstract which constitntes a part of their education; and by many equally honest and good-meaning men in the South, from a conviction that and to interfere with their domestic institutions. Both these classes of men are wrong. The Southern States are no more responsible for the original institution of slavery in this country than the Northern. It is susceptible of very clear histori cal proof that it was established amongst them by influences which they could not control, and even against the strong and positive remonstrances of several of them while they were colonies. The African slave trade was, for many years, the source of immense wealth to Great Britain, and history proves no fact more clearly than that we are indebted for the institution of slavery to English cupidity. The slaves being here amongst our people, the practical question in relation to them has always been and yet is, what is to be done with them? No man whose opinions are worth considering will say that they are, or that they can be, the equal of the white man. No man fit to be called a statesman, or worthy of social recognition himself, will assert that they should be placed upon terms of social equality with ourselves, with our wives, our daughters, or our sons. They cannot be turned loose upon the world to subsist upon its charities; for those who have lived in the North know that charity is not even dealt out involves the supply of physical wants and comforts.

It must be apparent, therefore, to every reflecting man, that sity absolute and inflexible. And it would be equally appa rent to those who will take the pains to see and examine it as it is, that there is amongst the great body of the people of slave, than exists amongst the political abolitionists of the North. My own deliberate conviction is, that the abolitionists are the worst, if they are not the only enemies the slaves have. But, let these fac's be as they may, every calm and much sgency as the South, and which is now so interwoven with the interests of the South that it cannot be removed without ruin, absolute and irretrievable ruin, to both master good men do so, and hence the chief difficulty in the way of which prompted him. adjusting all the questions which grow out of slavery.

They condemn slavery in the abstract, and oppose with tena- ing that the Constitution of California now before Congress

result ? In all probability we should see the votes of the en- strength and safety. They will not give it up to gratify the which is secured to them by the treaty and the spirit of our in was before the vote was taken. What, then, is the remedy ? serve a common national renown. And if this Congress, that is to leave it just where the constitution has left it. There shall respond to this spirit of conciliation existing in the lar rights are maintained by law. is no positive necessity for doing more now in regard to bosoms of the people, the elements of discord will soon be this right. If California shall be admitted into the Union, hushed into silence, and the ship of State will ride on, safely sertion, so frequently made, that the agitation of the slavery

States. They then became citizens of the United States, sub-ject to their own general laws until altered by the United of this doctrine than any other part of the Union, and it does States, but looking to the treaty for their political privileges not become her, in the present crisis, to interpose obstacles and immunities. Neither the President nor the people of to the consummation of an object which has been induced by

"The Mexicans who, in the Territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted, at the proper time, (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States,) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the constitution; and, in the mean time, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction." Here were important duties confided to the President. He

was required to maintain and protect the Californians in the " free enjoyment of their liberty and property," and to secure them "in the free exercise of their religion without restriction." He was to do this by his own Executive authority; for Congress had made no other provision. He knew why Congress had failed to provide a Territorial Government, and he also knew that the cause of this failure would continue to very bountifully to them by those who make the loudest pro- exis: until it was removed by the people of California, who freedom; but of the actual condition of things, so far as it ble. In doing this he had to consider all the existing circumbeen plunged by the policy which had procured us the possesslavery exists in its present form ex necessitate rei-a neces- sion of that country. He had no power to create a form of ed under the treaty, it was best that they should form a State Constitution and apply for admission into the Union : and that if, when they should so apply, Congress should judge that it was "the proper time" for their admission, they would possible, especially when so large a number of our own people that there are, in the settlement of great public questions, inhave gone there? If so, should the President be censured for that there are, in the settlement of great public questions, interests of more magnitude than the question of what becomes that they should enjoy these rights at as early a period as disunion of the States. and slave. The same class of men will readily admit that facilitating so desirable an object-for doing all that he could it is not right for Northern men to form their opinions of con- do to "enlarge the area of freedom?" He has obeyed the stitutional and legal questions, under these local and section- mandate of the treaty, and he need not fear but that the Ameal influences. Yet it is true that a great many honest and rican people will do full justice to the motives of patriotism But who are these people that are now asking for admis-

every where; the South is no more exempt from them and thousand are native-born citizens of the United States, fifteen their influence than the North. But the great body of the thousand natives of California, and fifteen thousand foreign to the grave the principle that, next to the duty which they people of the North are emphatically conservative on all the ers. I have the authority of one of the Senators and one of owe to God, there is none higher and more sacred than that great questions growing out of the institution of slavery, the Representatives elected there for this estimate, and for say- which they owe to their country."

city and firmness the introduction of it into any portion of the territory of the United States where they do not think it zens of the United States. The right of suffrage was restricted now exists by law. They go no further than this, and are by law to "free white citizens," and foreigners were posiprepared at any time to acknowledge and defend the constitutively excluded from its enjoyment. Fifteen thousand votes tional rights of the slave States. They do not desire, nor were polled at the adoption of the constitution, and of these will they consent, to interfere with the institution of slavery not more than one thousand were natives of California. in the States. If a few men of the North shall occasionally the remaining fourteen thousand being born and raised in go into the slave States and kidnap a slave, are the people the United States. These are the persons who, according to of the North to be any more justly held responsible for it, than a Southern Senator, carried with them to California those are the people of the South for the offences which a few of "elements of government" which "are formed in the breast the citizens of the South may commit in the Northern States? of every American citizen." There is no authority, then, If those Southern gentlemen who are in the habit of dealing for saying that this constitution came from the hands of a mixin wholesale invective against the North, would pause awhile ed and motley population. Those who made it are our counand reflect upon the true state of facts, they would be con- trymen, who were recently amongst us, in every section of vinced that they were doing great injustice to a very large the Union, enjoying those rights which are common to us all. majority of the Northern people. And they would also be The spirit of enterprise and adventure has carried them to the convinced that they wronged themselves when they judge of shores of the Pacific, but they are none the less our countryremoval of their slaves from the jurisdiction where constitutional and legal questions under the influence of these men. They have but yielded to the spirit of the age-that progressive spirit by which we are distinguished above all The true ground of security is the medium between these other people in the world. And for having done this, in actwo extremes. This is the ground of compromise, and I do cordance with the policy of the Government, shall we cut All this is denied by the North, and thus an issue not doubt but that here the great majority of the people of the them off from our political association, abandon them to a is formed between the two sections of the Union. How is country, both North and South, will be found to stand. state of lawless anarchy, or drive them to the necessity of this issue to be tried ? The constitution settles it. But who They can have no wish to press any, especially these exciting usurping a form of government for themselves by the force of is to judge of the constitution? Suppose this single question questions, so far as to endanger other and more important in- revolution? All the high considerations of patriotism and were submitted to the present Congress, what would be the terests. They know that the Union constitutes their only duty prompt us to yield them, immediately, that protection tire North on one side, and the votes of the entire South on ambition of politicians or the malignity of party. Their pa- stitutions. If Congress shall fail to do this, it will leave unthe other. A result either way, thus brought about, would triotism is not bounded by geographical divisions or circumettl e nothing ; but the question would be left just where it scribed by State lines. They have a common motive to pre- fided, and will have to answer before this country and the world for having placed in imminent hazard the only form of To my mind it is perfectly clear that there is but one, and rising above the storm of party which now rages so furiously, government which man's genius has yet devised, where popu-The facts also show that there is no justification for the as-

> question has prevented emigration to California from the I have said that I think it fortunate for the country that Mr. Southern States, so as to deprive those States from any agencountry that General TAYLOR is now the President of the was composed of fifty-two members. Of these, from fifteen United States, and that his disinterested patriotism has been so to twenty were natives of the slave States, about twenty-one or strikingly exhibited. Elected in the midst of these very ex- twenty-two natives of the free States, three were foreigners

willing and anxious to submit the whole question of slavery to New York. He had moved the amendment several days be-In the present state of parties it is attempted to anticipate the people of California. General TAYLOR knew this, and fere, but it was called up for final action on the 11th Septemthis question, and to decide it here, before it shall arise amongst | did not hesitate to give this Southern plan his preference, not | ber, 1849; when it underwent "considerable debate," as is those who will have the ultimate right to decide and settle it. because it was the Southern plan, but because it was republi- stated by the "Alta California," published at San Francis-This is a mere struggle for power between the two sections can and right. He did not attempt, either directly or indi. co. During this debate "many members expressed the wish of the Union. The North maintains its position by assum- rectly, to interfere with the right of the people of California that this question of slavery should be submitted separately ing that slavery does not exist in New Mexico, because it was to settle their own domestic questions. He did not write or to the people." This being deemed unnecessary, the quesabolished by the Mexican law before its cession to this counspeak one sentence or one word either in favor of or against tion was taken upon Mr. Shannon's amendment, when with try. The South denies this, and insists that what is called a the establishment of slavery there; nor did he authorize any was unanimously adopted." We have no present means law of Mexico was the unauthorized act of a usurper, and is agent of the Government so to write or speak. Having thus of access to the debate which took place on this question, but therefore void. She claims the right, when she is called on placed the question just where the South was willing it should the reported proceedings show sufficiently that the people of to say what the Mexican law was at the time of the cession, to be placed, he had some reason to hope that the South would California do not intend that slavery shall exist there. That look into the institutions of Mexico and see whether that not make war upon him because of the result. I have yet to is the end of the question, unless Congress shall assert and which purports to be law is so or not. Now, the practical believe that the South will do so. Politicians from that sec- exercise the right to force a Government upon them different question which arises here is this: Have the North and the tion of the Union may do it from the habit of party opposi- from that of their own choice. It is very strange to my South confidence in their respective positions; or, in other tion, but the people will not be influenced by these considera- mind that Southern gentlemen, of all others, should insist words, do they believe what they say? If they do, leave it tions upon a question of so much delicacy and importance. upon a doctrine so at war with all the fundamental principles

hesitate a single moment about deferring the question of ter- to the ultras of both North and South—that the Southern that of expediency; the constitution interposes no obstacle, ritorial organization, and leaving the law as it is ? If it is as fanatic and the Northern fanatic meet upon a common and no existing law would be violated by her admission. It the North insists, then the North has got all she asks for. If ground of opposition to him. The issue of this contest is is not even a question of the doubtful exercise of power. it is as the South contends, then the South has got all that she only to be seen by the eye of Omniscience, but whatever it But if it were, there are considerations of so momentous a asks for. And when a question, by merely letting it alone, may be, the President of the United States will have the con- character connected with it that Congress should not hesitate. is so easily settled as this, can it be possible that there are solation of knowing that he has risen above every considera. We have abundant precedent for this. Louisiana was acthose who, after reflection, will continue to agitate it for the tion of selfishness, and planted himself upon the Constitution, quired by a doubtful exercise of power on the part of the unhallowed purpose of arousing passion and prejudice in with the determination to yield up every thing that is merely Federal Government, because it was necessary and expedient either part of the Union ? Never did any man utter a sentiment personal to himself, for the safety and integrity of the Union. that we should secure the mouth of the Mississippi river. But the President had something more to direct him in the Mr. JEFFERSON thought it possible that as amendment to the course of policy which he adopted than his own judgment in constitution might be necessary to enable this important object the matter, or the expressed opinions of Southern gentlemen. to be accomplished. But Congress and the country thought When he came into office he found upon the statute-book an otherwise, and the purchase was justified by its importance. existing law, which he was sworn to execute, and which he By this precedent we have sanctioned the purchase of Florida. would not have executed if he had failed to do what he has the annexation of Texas, and the acquisition of territory from done. That law was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico-so that it has now become a part of the settled policy between the United States and Mexico. By this treaty the of our Government that we may acquire territory by purchase allegiance of the inhabitants of California was transferred, or annexation whenever the public interest shall require it. immediately upon its ratification, from Mexico to the United although there is no express warrant for it in the constitu-

the entire North is disposed to assail their rights of property, California could look any where else, because Congress had her own policy. Does she mean to arrest the progress of this failed to provide any other political rights for them. What, Government, because the political power of the country may then, was the duty of the President under the treaty? The ultimately pass from her hands? Is it her design to assert that, because she cannot maintain the ascendency in the public councils, she will, therefore, hazard the existence of the only free Government upon earth ' I do not believe it -for it is my deliberate conviction that the people of the South love the Union with as intense devotion as the people of the North. The question of political power between the two sections of the Union is one which must be resolved by time and by circumstances, which are beyond the reach of legislaand by circumstances, which are beyond the reach of legisla-tion. The immense tide of population which is pouring into the Western and Northwestern States is gradually transfer-ring the political power of this nation beyond the Alleghanies. The extreme North and the extreme South seem to have forgotten that these causes were at work, and while they have reated the West as an infant, she has grown up to the proportions of a giant. The people who are crowding into the West are emphatically conservative. They love the Union, and intend that it shall be preserved. They stand between the two extremes of faction—participating with neither, and sympathyzing with neither in their attacks upon the zights or integrity of the States. It is, perhaps, fortunate that they even now hold the balance of power, and that they are resolved to exert it so as to do justice to both North and Son reserve the peace and harmony of the country. The West very bountifully to them by those who make the loudest professions of humanity. In solving this question, then, it is
almost impossible to come to any other conclusion than that
the slaves are in a better condition than they would be if
immediate abolition were to prevail in every Southern State.

I do not here speak of the mere abstract question of personal not suffer the rights of either to be invaded. She would as stances, and especially the peril into which the Union had soon unsheath her sword to defend Boston as New Orleans. although New Orleans is almost a part of herself. She is willing to throw herself into the present breach-to forget all government. All that he could do—and he could do no less—tacle the other day, in the Senate of the United States, to see was to say so them that, owing to the difficulties of forming a two such men as Mr. CLAY and General Cass battling side by Territorial Government by Congress, and as the people of the side in favor of the Union. All their lives they had been it is, that there is amongst the great body of the people of the South, more real, genuine, and practical sympathy for the United States were anxious that they should form a State saw that the Union was endangered by the madness of faction, they forgot all this, and, mingling their voices together, united in an earnest appeal to the country to arouse itself to the crisis and save the constitution. If, on that occasion, every voter in the land could have heard the earnest and elehave. But, let these fac's be as they may, every calm and that it is not right then be laced in the full "enjoyment of all the rights of the set two venerable patriots, the miserable reasonable man of the North will admit that it is not right to keep up an eternal crusade against the South because of to keep up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have hid itself forever, and there would be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have be up an eternal crusade against the South because of citizens of the united States, according to the principles of the spirit of faction would have be up an eternal crusade against the spirit of faction would have be up an eternal crusade against the spirit of faction would have be up an eternal crusade against the spirit of fac this institution, in the creation of which the North had as constitution." Was it not desirable, and is it not yet so, and withering curse upon the heads of those who desire the

of them? Never was there an occasion in the history of this country when they more needed a devoted and self-sacrificing tism. The eyes of twenty millions of people are anxiously fixed upon them, and their hearts are palpitating in view of the result. Now is the time for them to rise up to the full magnitude of the patriot-statesman-break the shackles of party, and save the Union. If I could be per-The South should not hold the whole North responsible for the incendiary fanaticism of a few. Bad men are to be found the ince Sta'es-that they should "carry with them in their bearts